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for **PEACE**

by Laurenti P. Beria



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By L. P. Beria

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N O T E

The text of this pamphlet is the report delivered by Laurenti Pavlovich Beria at the celebration meeting of the Moscow Soviet on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, November 6, 1951.

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The Soviet Union Builds for Peace

By L. P. BERIA

THE peoples of the Soviet Union are today celebrating the 34th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which was illuminated by the genius of Lenin and which set mankind on the road to a new, socialist world. Every new year of advance along this road is productive of fresh achievements for our country.

All the activities of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government in the period between the 33rd and 34th anniversaries of the October Revolution proceeded, as they have in all the years since the death of the great Lenin, under the wise direction of our leader, Comrade Stalin. The perspicacity of Comrade Stalin's genius orients our Party and our people in the complexities of internal and foreign affairs and outlines the perspective of our further development. Comrade Stalin's inexhaustible energy in the day-to-day direction of affairs, large and small, and his faculty for determining the chief tasks of the Soviet State and directing all our energies toward their accomplishment ensure the great victories of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the building of communism.

The past year, 1950, was the concluding year of the first postwar Five-Year Plan. The Soviet people and all our friends abroad were happy to learn that the postwar Five-Year Plan for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy of the USSR, for the accomplishment of which our people had to work under difficult conditions when it was necessary to heal the severe wounds dealt by the war, was fulfilled successfully. This was undoubtedly another great victory for the Soviet people, one which further enhanced the might of our Socialist State. Our achievements in peaceful construction led to a

further rise in the material and cultural standards of the working people.

In the sphere of foreign policy the Soviet Union continued its indefatigable fight for peace, which had the effect of still further raising its international prestige.

In the past year it has become clearer than ever that there are two poles, two centers of attraction, in the world. On the one hand there is the Soviet Union heading the camp of socialism and democracy, which acts as a center of attraction for all progressive forces that are struggling for the prevention of another war, for the consolidation of peace, and for the right of the peoples to arrange their lives themselves. On the other hand, there is the United States of America heading the camp of imperialism, which acts as a center of attraction for the aggressive and reactionary forces all over the world which are working to precipitate another world war with the idea of robbing and enslaving other nations.

In the camp of socialism and democracy, the past year was one of further growth and rallying of forces, of economic and cultural development, and of rising living standards of the working people. The peoples of the new democracies and the great Chinese people, having wrested their destinies from the hands of the imperialist enslavers, are, with the fraternal assistance of the peoples of the Soviet Union, exultantly and confidently building a new, socialist life.

In the camp of imperialism the past year was one of continued accentuation of domestic and foreign contradictions, further aggravation of the general crisis and debilitation of the capitalist system, subjugation of the entire economy to the criminal aims of the preparation for war, and ruthless attack on the vital interests of the working people.

NEW ACHIEVEMENTS IN PEACEFUL CONSTRUCTION IN THE USSR

FOR our country the year 1951 is one of further progress of the socialist economy and culture. Absorbed in peaceful constructive labor for the benefit of their country, the workers,

collective farmers and intellectuals are working with immense enthusiasm for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the state plans. Vivid evidence of this is to be found in the patriotic letters to Comrade Stalin published in the press, in which people engaged in industry, agriculture, transport and construction report their production victories and the new obligations they have taken upon themselves in socialist competition.

The Bolshevik Party inspires and organizes our people in the performance of heroic feats of labor and directs their creative energies toward one goal—the triumph of communism. The great ideas of Lenin and Stalin are every day taking deeper root in the minds of the broad masses of working people, multiplying their energies and illuminating their path of struggle and victories. This finds expression in their conscientious attitude toward their work, in their boundless initiative in the performance of their duty toward society, toward the State. Therein lies the source of the invincibility of our system, of the unending achievements in our work.

The results of the work in the economic field in the first 10 months of this year show that the national economic plan for 1951 will be fulfilled and overfulfilled. Industrial output will be more than 15 per cent higher than last year and twice as great as in the prewar year of 1940. Compared with 1950, the basic producing resources of industry will have increased by 12 per cent.

The increase in technical equipment, the higher skill of the workers and the more efficient organization of production have made it possible to raise labor productivity in industry by 10 per cent as compared with last year. Nearly two-thirds of the increase in industrial output this year will be due to the higher productivity of labor. This means that our industrial output is increasing mainly as a result of higher labor productivity.

As Comrade Stalin has repeatedly pointed out, reduction of production costs is an index of the efficiency of industry and one of the major sources of accumulation in the national economy. At the same time it is an indispensable condition for a reduction of prices and hence for raising the living standard of the working people. This year's plan for a reduction of pro-

duction costs will be overfulfilled, which will mean a saving of 26 billion rubles in industry alone.

All branches of heavy and light industry have substantially increased their output this year.

Production of ferrous metals is rising considerably. Compared with last year, the rise in output will amount to 2,700,000 tons in the case of pig iron, some 4,000,000 tons in the case of steel and 3,000,000 tons in the case of rolled metal. The Soviet Union is now producing approximately as much steel as Great Britain, France, Belgium and Sweden combined. Our metallurgists are now making more efficient use of their blast furnaces and open-hearth furnaces. This alone will give us an additional 1,300,000 tons of pig iron and 1,350,000 tons of steel in 1951.

No less considerable is the increase in the output of non-ferrous and rare metals this year.

The ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries have trained splendid cadres of workers, engineers, technicians and executives who have an excellent knowledge of their work and are continually improving production techniques.

The coal output plan is being successfully fulfilled. For the past several years the annual increase in coal output has averaged 24,000,000 tons. The coal industry of the USSR is now not only satisfying our country's needs, but has ensured an accumulation of necessary reserves.

The technical re-equipment of the coal industry in the past years has made it possible to mechanize completely such arduous and labor-consuming operations as hewing, stripping and conveying coal at the work faces, as well as underground hauling and loading into rail cars.

The Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin personally are constantly concerned with lightening the work of the miners and improving their living conditions to the utmost. In contradistinction to the capitalist countries, where the miners rank among the most downtrodden and neglected of people, miners in the Soviet State are surrounded with attention and honor. In respect to workers' pay, coal mining holds first place among all industries. As a result, we have permanent cadres of skilled

miners who are successfully promoting the development of the coal industry.

Even more substantial are the achievements of our oil industry. For a number of years our annual increase of oil output has averaged 4,500,000 tons. This year's oil output target will be exceeded. We have carried out a big program of oil prospecting, which has resulted in the discovery of rich oil deposits in new areas and in a great increase in prospected reserves of industrial value.

Construction and expansion of oil refineries are being carried out on a large scale. The new refineries completed this year, with their first-class Soviet-made equipment, can process 6,000,000 tons of oil annually.

It may be confidently said that the task set by Comrade Stalin of raising oil output to 60,000,000 tons annually will be accomplished ahead of schedule.

Great achievements have been registered in the development of the electrification of our country. The power output this year will reach 104 billion kilowatt-hours, which exceeds the power output of Great Britain and France combined. This year's increase of power output alone will exceed 13 billion kilowatt-hours, which is more than seven times the entire power production of Russia before the Revolution.

This year the construction of new power stations is being carried out on an even broader scale. The capacity of the new plants and new units being put into operation in 1951 will total about 3,000,000 kilowatts, which is approximately equivalent to five times the capacity of such big power plants as the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station.

Our chemical industry is expanding yearly. Output of chemical fertilizers has risen considerably, and production of new organic antidotes against agricultural pests and weeds is almost double that of 1950. Output of synthetic rubber will be 20 per cent higher than last year. The personnel of the chemical industry, working in close collaboration with Soviet scientists, has achieved substantial success in the solution of major technical problems in the field of chemistry.

Our economic development would be inconceivable without

the continual advancement and perfection of our machine-building industry, which is the basis of the technical progress of our entire national economy.

The total output of the machine-building industry will be 21 per cent higher than last year. Output of the main types of equipment for power stations will be doubled or trebled. This year we are producing a steam turbine with a capacity of 150,000 kilowatts. Nowhere in the world has a turbine of this capacity been produced before, which testifies to the maturity of Soviet science and technology. Output of equipment for the oil industry will be almost double that of 1950. This year our machine-building industry is turning out more than 400 new types of machinery and equipment.

Our machine builders may pride themselves on their success in producing complex up-to-date apparatus, as well as geophysical, electromechanical, electronic, electro-vacuum and other precision instruments.

Thanks to the successful development of industry and the increased output of agricultural raw materials, production of consumer goods is greatly expanding. This year, on Comrade Stalin's initiative, the Government has taken measures to increase the output of foodstuffs and manufactured goods over and above the quantities envisaged in the annual plan. As a result, the amount of manufactured goods and foodstuffs the population will receive will increase as compared with 1950 as follows: textiles, 24 per cent; knitted goods, 35 per cent; footwear, 12 per cent; meat and meat products, 20 per cent; fish products, 8 per cent; vegetable oil, 35 per cent; butter, 8 per cent; sugar, 24 per cent; tea, 38 per cent. In recreational and household goods, the increase will be as follows: bicycles, nearly twofold; radio sets, 25 per cent; clocks and watches, 11 per cent; cameras, 39 per cent; sewing machines, 28 per cent; furniture, 44 per cent. Our industry is already beginning mass production of television sets, refrigerators, washing machines and similar domestic appliances.

As you see, our industry has substantial achievements to its credit. But we should not overlook the shortcomings of certain plants which, because of bad organization of production and

inefficient utilization of their up-to-date machinery, are not fulfilling their programs in respect to raising labor productivity and lowering production costs, are exceeding their norms of raw material and fuel expenditure and are permitting losses from spoilage. Elimination of these defects would make it possible to effect substantial additional economies.

Some plants, while they fulfill and overfulfill their gross output programs, do not always comply with the provisions of the State Plan regarding the output of some of the more important items of production. The executives of these plants apparently want to make their work easier by turning out products which require less effort and trouble. It is high time they understood that it is not just any sort of fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan that the State needs, but only such as assures the national economy the products it requires.

In our socialist economy every executive, be his job large or small, must place the interests of the State above all else and strictly observe state discipline. The parochial outlook, which is still to be observed among some of our business executives and which is detrimental to the interests of our planned economy, must be discarded once and for all.

This year has been marked by the further progress of our socialist agriculture. Thanks to the larger quantities of machines and the more efficient organization of work, the cereal crops this year were gathered more quickly and with a far smaller loss of grain. The grain harvested this year by the collective farms and state farms is of a high quality. Collective and state farms have completed their deliveries to the State ahead of schedule and have set aside the necessary seed stocks. For several years past our annual grain crop has exceeded 7 billion poods.*

We will gather more cotton and sugar beet this year than last year. Our country is now producing more cotton than such famous cotton-growing countries as India, Pakistan and Egypt combined.

The collective farms and state farms are working successfully

* 1 pood equals 36.113 pounds.

for the fulfillment of the Stalin program for the development of socialist animal husbandry. The socially-owned livestock of the collective farms, together with the livestock of the state farms, now constitutes the predominant bulk of stock herds. Enlargement of the fodder supply continues to be a major task in the sphere of animal husbandry.

Agriculture annually receives from the State large quantities of up-to-date machinery. This year it will receive 137,000 tractors (in terms of 15-horsepower units), 54,000 grain harvester combines (29,000 of them self-propelled), as well as 2,000,000 other agricultural machines and implements. Electrification of agriculture is being carried out on a large scale. All this makes it possible to mechanize still further the major farming operations, lighten the labor of the collective farmers and enhance their productivity. More than two-thirds of the field work on the collective farms is now done by machine and tractor stations. This year nearly all the plowing on the collective farms was mechanized, three-quarters of the sowing was done by tractor-drawn seeders and over 60 per cent of the total grain crop area was harvested with combines. All the major operations on the state farms are almost completely mechanized.

The commonly-owned assets of the collective farms are steadily growing. Last year alone their indivisible funds increased by 11 per cent. The collective farmers must continue to consolidate and develop to the utmost their socially-owned economy which is the basis for the further progress of the collective farms and increasing the prosperity of the collective farmers.

Together with industry and agriculture, our railways and river and sea transport systems are also making progress. This year rail freight will increase by 11 per cent. Incidentally, this 11-per cent increase is practically equal to the total freight carried annually by the railways of Great Britain and France combined. River-borne cargo will increase 12 per cent and sea-borne cargo 7 per cent. It still remains the immediate task of our large army of transport workers to accelerate the freight car turnover and to utilize all the rolling stock and sea and river transport facilities more efficiently.

Our country is carrying out a big building program. The scale of capital construction work increases from year to year. State capital investments this year are more than two and a half times larger than in the prewar year of 1940.

The building organizations are being supplied with ever-increasing quantities of machinery and equipment and their supply of building materials has been improved. This year there will be a big increase in the number of excavators, scrapers and bull-dozers. The annual production of cement will increase by 2,000,000 tons, and there will be a considerable increase in the production of brick, roofing slate, iron and ceramic piping and other building materials.

Our builders have achieved definite success in lowering production costs and reducing building timetables. But they still have much to accomplish. First of all they must properly organize work at the construction site, utilize the building machinery more efficiently, achieve better organization of labor processes and greatly curtail overhead expenses. Extravagances, still to be found in the plans and estimates, which increase the cost of construction, must be eliminated.

As you know, the big hydrotechnical projects on the Volga, Don, Dnieper and Amu Darya rivers hold a place apart in our construction work. These projects are without equal anywhere in the world, both for scale and for speed of construction. The 1951 plan of work endorsed by the Government is being effectively fulfilled and overfulfilled for each of these projects.

The first of these engineering works, the Volga-Don waterway, will start operation in 1952. With its opening, all the seas of the European part of the USSR will have been integrated into a single transport system.

These great hydrotechnical works will solve the major problems of our national economy. The new power stations alone will annually supply 22.5 billion kilowatt-hours of cheap electricity. This is nearly equal to the total annual power output of Italy. Expansion of the irrigated and watered area will make it possible to produce annually an additional 3,000,000 tons of unginned cotton (which is equal to more than one-third of the average annual cotton crop of the United States), 500,000,000

poods of wheat, 30,000,000 poods of rice and 6,000,000 tons of sugar beet. The cattle in these regions will increase by 2,000,000 head, and sheep by 9,000,000 head.

These projects were undertaken on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, who displays constant solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of our country and for lightening the labor and improving the living conditions of the Soviet people. Comrade Stalin's initiative has met with the ardent support of all our people, who rightly call these projects the Stalin Great Construction Works of Communism.

Unlike the capitalist countries, where the aim of production is to increase the wealth and profits of a handful of exploiters, in our country the mainspring of economic development is the interests of the working people. The national income is increasing from year to year, and with it the earnings of the workers, office employees and farmers. Compared with 1950, the national income of the USSR this year will increase by 12 per cent.

The Soviet Government pursues the policy of systematically reducing prices of articles of general consumption. This March, for the fourth time in the past few years, state retail prices of foodstuffs and manufactured goods were again reduced, resulting in a further increase in the real wages of factory and office workers and a reduction of the expenditures of farmers on manufactured goods, owing to their cheaper prices.

The total volume of trade this year will increase by 15 per cent compared with last year. It must be observed, however, that there are still quite a number of defects in the work of our trading organizations. They still do too little to study the demands of the population, commit errors in the distribution of products among various regions and republics and do not always make efficient use of the available commodity resources. The personnel of our trade organizations must considerably improve the service to the Soviet consumer.

Improvement of the housing conditions of the working people is the constant concern of the Party and the Government. This year new housing, with an aggregate living space

of about 290,000,000 square feet, is being made available for occupancy in cities and industrial settlements, and 400,000 new houses are being built by collective farmers in the rural areas.

One very heartening feature is that as a result of the growing prosperity of the people and the splendid work of the Soviet public health system, the death rate in our country has been reduced to half as compared with the prewar year of 1940, while the decline in infant mortality is even greater. For several years now the annual net increase in the population of the USSR has been greater than in 1940 and exceeds 3,000,000.

Whereas in the capitalist camp the imperialist cannibals are engaged in inventing diverse "scientific" means of exterminating the flower of humanity and of reducing the birth rate, in our country, as Comrade Stalin has said, the most valuable capital is man, and the welfare and happiness of the people is the chief concern of the State.

The work on education and training of specialists for all branches of the economy and culture has always held an important place in the activities of our Government. This year 2,720,000 persons are studying in our universities, institutes and technical schools. A total of 463,000 young specialists were graduated from higher educational establishments and technical schools in 1951 alone. More than 5,000,000 specialists with higher education or secondary technical education are employed in our country today, besides which there is an equally large number of skilled practical specialists who have grown up in factories and have perfected their training in part-time courses.

In all our achievements a large measure of credit is due to Soviet science. In recent years our scientists have solved a number of highly important scientific problems of value to our national economy and our defense. In many branches of knowledge Soviet scientists have taken the lead in the promotion of world science. A noteworthy feature of recent times is the greater extent and scope of cooperation between Soviet scientists and people working in industry. This not only facilitates a more effective application of scientific achievements in production, but it also enriches science with the experience

and creative thought of the numerous army of innovators in industry, transport and agriculture.

One of the most striking indications of the cultural progress of our country is the flourishing state of its literature and art. Expressing the great ideas of communism in concrete images, they represent a powerful means of educating the masses in a communist spirit, in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism. This year, as in previous years, a number of works of art and literature of very high merit have appeared, works which truthfully portray the high moral qualities of the Soviet people, their life and their efforts for the further enhancement of the might of their country, for peace and friendship among nations and for the happiness of the people of the whole world.

While concentrating a major part of the forces and resources of the country on the further development of the national economy and culture, the Party and Government do not lose sight of the necessity of strengthening its defenses. The experience of history has fully confirmed Comrade Stalin's repeated warnings that, being in capitalist encirclement, the land of victorious socialism must always be ready to repel possible aggression on the part of the imperialist powers. This year, as always, the Party and Government have done everything possible to ensure that the heroic Soviet People, who in the fervor of constructive labor are erecting the great edifice of communism, may continue to have no fear for the fate of their country. The Soviet Army and Navy, whose unsurpassed morale and fighting ability are known to the whole world, possess all the types of modern weapons with which to deal a crushing blow to anyone who, ignoring the convincing lessons of history, would dare to attack our country again.

As is known, the advantages of the social and state system which was born in the October Revolution are the decisive factor in our victories. One of the chief manifestations of these advantages is that the Soviet system has for the first time in history liberated and given free scope to the great energies of the people, and has called into being the mighty activity and inexhaustible creative initiative of the masses, emancipated from capitalist exploitation. It is this activity and initiative

of the masses that constitute the chief wellspring of the invincible forces of communism. Further improvement of the work of the Party and Soviet organs, as well as of the public organizations that mobilize and organize this creative activity of the people, continues to be the constant concern of the Party and the Government.

The Soviet people continually attain new achievements at their jobs because conceit and smug complacency are alien to them, because they never rest content with what they have accomplished and because they measure their achievements chiefly by the criterion of the great tasks of the future. Criticism and self-criticism, as Comrade Stalin teaches us, are a law of our development, a paramount means of overcoming routine and conservatism, everything old and moribund that hinders our triumphant onward march. The effectiveness of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in a large measure depends upon the level of political consciousness of the masses, the ideological and theoretical training of our cadres. Now as always, the attention of our Party is focused on the communist education of the masses, on further raising the ideological and political level of our cadres and their mastery of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The motive forces of the development of socialist society constantly grow and become stronger with our every new achievement in the building of communism. Each day of life and labor of our workers, farmers and intellectuals furnishes fresh and vivid proof of their patriotism, of the moral and political unity of Soviet society and of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR. The unshatterable unity of the will and aspirations of the peoples of our country, the unity of their material and moral forces, is one of the principal foundations of the might of our Motherland. It is thanks to this unity that our State is able to accomplish tasks of such magnitude as were formerly beyond the dream of the boldest minds of mankind.

THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

THE vast scale of peaceful constructive work in our country is eloquent proof of the peaceful character of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, and exposes the slanderers who keep alleging that our Government has aggressive designs.

"Not a single state, the Soviet Union included," says Comrade Stalin, "can develop civilian industry to the full, launch great construction projects like the hydroelectric power stations on the Volga, the Dnieper and the Amu Darya, which require tens of billions in budgetary outlays, continue the policy of systematically reducing prices of consumer goods, which also requires tens of billions in budgetary outlays, invest hundreds of billions in the restoration of the national economy destroyed by the German invaders, and together with this, simultaneously enlarge its armed forces and expand war industry. It should not be difficult to understand that so reckless a policy would have led any state into bankruptcy."

The peaceful policy of the Soviet State springs from the October Socialist Revolution. The more than 30 years' history of the Soviet system shows that the October Revolution was a constructive revolution, a revolution for the systematic building of a new, communist society. The wars forced upon us by our enemies only interfered with our great work.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Government was defined with exhaustive clarity by Comrade Stalin in his report at the 14th Congress of the Party when he said: "The basis of the policy of our Government, of its foreign policy, is the idea of peace. The fight for peace, the fight to prevent new wars, the exposure of all steps taken with a view to preparing another war . . . this is our task."

There has not been a single international conference or meeting in which the Soviet Union has participated where the representatives of the Soviet Government did not submit constructive proposals for the prevention of international conflicts and for the safeguarding of peace and security. But in most cases our efforts in this sphere were directly counteracted by the ruling circles of a number of bourgeois states. The situ-

ation changed very little after the Second World War, from which, one would think, the statesmen of many countries should have drawn the proper lessons.

The peoples willingly endured tremendous sacrifices and privation in order to smash the aggressive fascist bloc, in the hope that after victory they would be ensured conditions for peaceful development. At the height of the Second World War, Comrade Stalin warned that it was not enough to win the war but that it was also necessary to ensure a stable and lasting peace among nations. But the blood of millions of victims had hardly grown cold on the battlefields when the American and British imperialists began to plot another war, immediately after the war the ruling circles of the United States, Great Britain and France adopted a course of directly violating the major agreements achieved by the Great Powers during the war, a course of undermining international cooperation and of forming an aggressive bloc with a view to plunging the peoples into the misery of another world holocaust.

There is no need to enumerate here generally known facts. It is enough to say that the United States is openly restoring the two seats of war—in the zone of Germany in the West and in the zone of Japan in the East—the elimination of which in the last war cost the freedom-loving nations millions of lives, colossal material sacrifices and incredible suffering.

Of late, measures have been taken to speed up the remilitarization of Western Germany, with the enlistment of Nazi war criminals in this work. Moreover, in defiance of common sense, an active part in the rebuilding of German militarism is being taken by the present rulers of France, whose people suffered all the horrors of German aggression twice in one generation. It is easy to understand why America's rulers find it more convenient to have their plans in relation to Germany implemented by some obliging Frenchmen under the guise of the "Schuman Plan," the "Pleven Plan" and the like. But the peoples of Europe cannot help realizing that this creates a serious menace to peace. The Soviet Government could not close its eyes to this gross violation not only of the Potsdam agreement, but also of the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Mutual

Assistance concluded in 1944. In special notes it warned the French Government of the dangers with which its present policy was fraught, and of the responsibility it bore for the situation that had arisen.

The American-British bloc recently railroaded through the so-called peace treaty with Japan. The United States has furthermore concluded a military agreement with Japan and has openly set out to resurrect Japanese militarism. World public opinion is outraged by the fact that the great Chinese people, who suffered from Japanese aggression more than any other and contributed greatly to the defeat of Japanese imperialism, was excluded from participation in the peace treaty with Japan, while at the same time the Americans play up the signatures of representatives of Honduras, Costa Rica and similar small semi-colonial states which not only had no share in defeating imperialist Japan, but which, in the person of their numerous merchants and landlords, made a good profit out of the war with her. It is no secret to anyone that this separate treaty with Japan serves not the purpose of peace, but that of preparation for war.

The Soviet Union, which has repeatedly insisted on the conclusion of a real and just peace treaty with Japan on the basis of the Cairo and Potsdam declarations and the Yalta agreement, would have betrayed its traditional policy of peace if it had put its signature on this "peace" treaty. The value of this treaty is further reduced by the fact that India, the second largest Asian state in size and importance, had no part in its conclusion.

Those who are sponsoring the resurgence of German and Japanese militarism evidently do not wish to take into consideration either the German or the Japanese people, who suffered no less than the other nations from the war their recent rulers instigated. These peoples can expect nothing good from another war, and it is unlikely that they will consent to serve as cannon fodder for the American billionaires.

The aggressive nature of the policy of the American bloc is most clearly exposed by the armed intervention of the United States in Korea. America's representatives have disrupted every

proposal made by the USSR and other peace-loving states for the cessation of the United States aggression in Korea and are now doing all they can to prolong the Kaesong negotiations.

We are confident that the courageous Korean people will emerge with merit from the sanguinary conflict provoked by the Americans, and will thereby demonstrate to the world once again that no force can subjugate a people that has the will to fight and win.

The United States is stubbornly endeavoring to turn the United Nations into an instrument of war. Under United States pressure, the United Nations lent its flag as a screen for American aggression in Korea, and then, in defiance of the traditional rights of nations, declared the People's Republic of China an aggressor. Honest-minded people throughout the world cannot but admit the correctness of Comrade Stalin's statement that: "In point of fact, the United Nations is now not so much a world organization as an organization for the Americans, catering to the needs of the American aggressors."

The imperialist camp has lately been speeding up preparations for war. The United States is doing everything to expand the aggressive Atlantic bloc, and by pressure, threats and various sops is bringing new countries into it, including countries which geographically have no connection with the Atlantic zone, is establishing new military bases in all parts of the world, feverishly expanding production of weapons of all types and seeking cannon fodder in all corners of the globe.

The slightest manifestation of anti-war feeling—and this is particularly true of the United States—is ruthlessly suppressed, and fascist police methods are being implemented in all the departments of the government machine. Only wretched rags and tatters remain of the vaunted "American democracy." Even the American press itself is obliged to admit this. State Senator Chester Dempsey of Wisconsin recently wrote in the *Capital Times*: "We used to wonder at the servility of the patient Germans under the propaganda of Herr Hitler and Dr. Goebbels. We are now worse than the Germans ever were. We have complete thought control. We are in the hands of the military and their smear brigade." United States statesmen

have become so infatuated with their own practices as to carry their police methods into international forums. Hitlerite political wirepullers might well have envied the fraudulent methods practiced at the San Francisco Conference by the American diplomats, headed by Truman.

In the United States, the government machine is being more and more absorbed by capitalist monopolies. If formerly the real masters of the country, the financial and industrial magnates, themselves remained in the background and left it to their political agents to defend their interests in the political sphere, then now they are openly taking America's administrative, political and diplomatic apparatus into their own hands. As is known, the major affairs of the State are decided by Charles Wilson, a businessman from the Morgan group, who unceremoniously installs in key government posts representatives of the Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Du Pont and other major billionaire groups which are closely interlinked with one another not only by economic, but also by family ties. They are brazenly harnessing the country's economy to the interests of the billionaires.

Yet, with plutocracy and police rule running riot in his own country, President Truman has the brazenness and insolence to talk of the "absence of democracy" in the Soviet Union, in the very country where, as is known, police rule and plutocracy have long since been abolished and where power belongs to the *demos*, the people.

Such, comrades, are the facts. They show that the American-British bloc has adopted a course of preparing and unleashing another war.

It is under these conditions that the Soviet Union, faithful to its peaceful policy, is conducting an indefatigable struggle for the prevention of war and the preservation of peace. At every session of the United Nations Assembly, at every meeting of the Security Council, at every meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Soviet Union in every way exposes the plans of the warmongers and submits concrete proposals for the safeguarding of peace, and disinterestedly defends the rights and **sovereignty of nations**. Everyone is familiar with the

recent Soviet proposals for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace among the five Great Powers, for a reduction of the armed forces of the Great Powers by one-third in the course of one year, for the prohibition of atomic weapons, for a speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany to be followed by the withdrawal of all occupation forces, and for the establishment of an all-German democratic government. One of the most graphic illustrations of the Soviet Union's fight for peace was the adoption by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on March 12, 1951 of the Law in Defense of Peace, according to which persons guilty of war propaganda shall be committed for trial as major criminals.

Our foreign policy is backed by the might of the Soviet State. Only naive politicians can interpret its peaceable character as a sign of the lack of confidence in our own strength. The Soviet people have shown the world time and again how well they can defend their Motherland. There was a time when our young and still weak Soviet Republic had to uphold its existence against the armed campaign of 14 bourgeois states led by the imperialist sharks of Great Britain, the USA, France and Japan. We were besieged by enemies from the north and south, east and west. The country was in a state of economic dislocation and lacked bread for its workers and weapons for its army. The interventionists were certain that the days of the Soviet State were numbered, that they would quickly stifle it by armed force. But it turned out differently. "All the world knows," Comrade Stalin wrote of the outcome of this campaign, "that the British interventionists and their allies were hurled with disgrace out of our country by our victorious army. The gentlemen warmongers, who are bent on instigating another war, would do well to remember this."

When fascist Germany, armed to the teeth and controlling by that time the war potential of almost the whole of Europe, treacherously attacked our country in June 1941, not only Hitler's generals, intoxicated with their easy military successes in the West, but even many in the camp of those who were then our allies, believed that the Soviet Army could hold out only for a few weeks, at most for a few months. Yet it was precisely

against the strength and might of the Soviet Union that Hitler's war machine was shattered.

We persistently strive for peace not only because we do not need war, but also because the Soviet people, who have established the most just of social systems in their country under the banner of Lenin and Stalin, regard aggressive war as a heinous crime against mankind and the greatest misfortune that can befall the common people of the world. But if the imperialist vultures construe the peaceableness of our people as a sign of weakness, a more ignominious downfall awaits them than that which was experienced by their predecessors in warlike ventures against the Soviet State. There is a good Italian proverb which says that "he who refuses to learn a lesson will learn it at the cost of his own skin."

The rulers of the United States and Great Britain are trying to deceive the world public by alleging that they are compelled to arm because of the threat of an armed attack by the Soviet Union.

This false talk of the Soviet threat and of the insincerity of the Soviet peace proposals is not new. Such talk was used by European and American imperialists after the First World War as a screen for the arming of fascist Germany, for which many nations had to pay with their blood in the Second World War. But the worthy diplomats of the American-British bloc are mistaken if they think that the memory of the peoples is so short and that they can succeed so easily in enmeshing them in a web of lies.

The peoples of the world judge the policies of the governments not by their words, but by their deeds. The Soviet Union has never evaded the strict observance of the treaty obligations it assumed. Its word is as good as its deed. It is strange, to say the least, to hear the rulers of America accusing others of insincerity when they themselves have grossly trampled upon the historic decisions of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences. One cannot conceal from the peoples of the world who it is whose words are at variance with their deeds.

In order to justify their aggressive policy toward the Soviet Union, the imperialist statesmen calumniously assert that the

Soviet people deny the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of two systems.

In the early years of the Soviet Government, Lenin, the founder of our State, formulated the principle of peace and agreement with capitalist states. "Our path is a true one," Lenin said. "We stand for peace and agreement, but we are against enslavement and enslaving terms of agreement." This Leninist principle constitutes the basis of the policy of the Soviet State. "The basis of our relations with capitalist countries," Comrade Stalin says, "is recognition of the possibility of the coexistence of two opposite systems." Comrade Stalin also defined a feasible basis of agreement between the USSR and the capitalist countries. "Exports and imports," he pointed out, "are the most suitable basis for such agreements. We require machinery, raw materials (cotton, for example), semi-manufactures (metals, etc.), while the capitalists require a market for these goods. There you have a basis for agreement. The capitalists require oil, timber, grain products, and we require a market for these commodities. There you have a basis for agreement." This was said in 1927. Today we have incomparably greater potentialities for business relations with capitalist countries. We have no objection to considerably expanding business cooperation on a basis of mutual advantage with the United States, Great Britain, France and other bourgeois countries both in the West and in the East. It is not the fault of the Soviet Union that the rulers of these states have, to the detriment of their own countries, taken the course of undermining and disrupting economic relations with the USSR.

The peaceful coexistence of two systems also presumes political agreements. "We are pursuing a policy of peace," Comrade Stalin has said, "and we are prepared to sign pacts of non-aggression with bourgeois states. We are pursuing a policy of peace and we are prepared to come to an agreement concerning disarmament, up to and including the complete abolition of the standing armies, as we have already declared to the whole world at the Genoa Conference. There you have the basis for agreement in the diplomatic field."

But what the imperialists need are not agreements. They are

afraid of agreements with the Soviet Union because they might upset their aggressive plans and render unnecessary the arms drive, which is a source of billions in superprofits. The imperialists need war. They need it for the robbery and enslavement of nations. And American monopolists need it most of all, as a source of colossal superprofits.

The preparation for war is led by the American imperialists, yet United States leaders never tire of professing their peaceful intentions. They are not opposed, you see, to "preserving" peace, but only on "conditions" that will be dictated by the United States. And what are these "conditions"? The peoples of the world must go down on their knees before American capital, renounce their national independence, accept the form of government the American "advisers" impose on them, adopt the "American way of life," develop only those branches of the economy which the American monopolists desire and find advantageous, and only to the extent that they desire and find advantageous. In a word, the nations must renounce their political sovereignty and economic independence, their cultural and other interests, and become subjects of a brand-new American empire. And this they call "preserving" peace! Indeed, why should the American imperialist bosses risk war if by bullying and browbeating alone they could succeed in bending nations to their dictation? As is known, the maniac Hitler was also amenable to "peace conditions" like these. But it was precisely these imperialist "peace conditions" which led to the Second World War. Obviously, when Truman advances similar "peace conditions," he is following the path of Hitler, and his aim is to drag the nations into a third world war.

Every honest-minded person will legitimately ask himself: On what grounds does the United States claim an exclusive position among the nations? Are the nations of the world not equal? Is it on the grounds, perhaps, that it has plenty of gold, coined from the blood and suffering of millions and suitable for the purposes of bribery?

But the nations do not barter their liberty. Let not the gentlemen American imperialists cherish the belief that since they have succeeded in buying certain rulers in bourgeois

countries with their gold, they have also bought the peoples of these countries.

The United States leaders cannot hide the fact that they need the arms drive in order to dictate, under the threat of force, their grasping imperialist "peace conditions" to other nations.

As you see, these gentlemen are always and everywhere canting about peace, and at the same time making preparations to launch another war, openly indulging in saber-rattling and vaingloriously boasting of the possession of some "fantastic missile" or other. Let them not think they can frighten anybody with this. As to the Soviet people, only those who have lost all faculty of soberly assessing historical events can still think that the Soviet people can be frightened with threats. Until now every armed attack by the imperialist states on our country has invariably ended in an ignominious debacle, and today our State is stronger and mightier and our peoples are more solidly united and confident of their strength than ever before. Let the war-fevered gentlemen know that if they attack our country, the Soviet people will be able to give them a reception which will wean them forever from the desire to attempt senseless encroachments on the liberty and independence of our socialist Motherland.

If anybody has to fear the consequences of another world war, it is above all the capitalists of America and other bourgeois countries, for another war will make the peoples pause to think about the perniciousness of the capitalist system, which cannot live without war, and of the necessity of replacing this blood-thirsty system by another system, the socialist system—as was the case in Russia after the First World War and as was the case in the People's Democracies of Europe and Asia after the Second World War.

It may appear at first glance that the imperialist camp represents a mighty integration of aggressive forces. Of course, these forces must not be underrated. However, the camp of peace is much stronger than the camp of war. Whereas the camp of peace is united by a common aim, in the camp of war there are serious divergences of interests, and many countries have been coerced into joining this camp through their economic

dependence on the United States as a consequence of the notorious "Marshall Plan."

The superficial unity of the imperialist front cannot conceal its profound internal antagonisms, due chiefly to the competitive struggle for sources of raw material, markets and spheres of capital investment. These antagonisms are interwoven and embrace all the countries of the imperialist camp, but the chief of them are the antagonisms between the United States and Great Britain both in Europe and Asia.

It is hardly to be doubted that the antagonisms in the imperialist camp will become deeper as time goes on.

An even more serious factor is the weakness of imperialism's rear. However the imperialists may try to enmesh the peoples in lies, however the Right-wing socialists, those zealous servitors of imperialism in betraying the interests of the working people, may exert themselves, the fact remains that in the imperialist camp itself, in the imperialist rear, there are impressive forces of peace supporters in the shape of millions of honest-minded industrial and cultural workers who set higher store on the preservation of peace than on any wretched sops capitalism may throw them. The anti-war sentiment of the masses is bound to grow because of the heavy burden which the colossal expenditure on the preparation for war lays upon the backs of the working people.

The weakness of imperialism's rear also finds expression in the growth of the national liberation movement in the colonial and dependent countries. The people of Viet Nam are fighting heroically for their liberation; so are the peoples of the Philippines, Burma and Malaya; the people of Indonesia have not laid down their arms; the forces of resistance to imperialism are growing in the Near and Middle East and in North and South Africa.

The economies of the leading imperialist countries, and above all of the United States, are constantly menaced with upheavals. The militarization of economy taking place in the United States, Great Britain and other capitalist countries—the incredible inflation of the war industries and of branches that serve these industries at the expense of production for

civilian consumption—is bound to lead to economic collapse in the near future. I shall not speak of the millions of unemployed in the United States.

Such is the picture in the camp of imperialism and war.

Quite different is the situation in the camp of democracy and peace. The forces of this camp, which is immune from all internal antagonisms, are growing in size and strength from day to day. I have already spoken of the progress of the Soviet Union, which is the chief and leading force in the camp of democracy and peace. The People's Democracies too are marching from achievement to achievement. Having quickly eliminated the severe aftermath of war, thanks to the advantages of their new social system, the peoples of these countries are developing their economies at a rapid pace. Compared with prewar, industrial output by the end of the first half of this year had increased more than two and a half times in Poland and Hungary, more than three times in Bulgaria, more than half as much again in Czechoslovakia, more than double in Romania and more than four times in Albania. As in our country, industrial development in these countries serves to satisfy the requirements of the working people and to promote further peaceful development. With economic progress, the whole cultural pattern of these countries is changing; science, literature and the arts are flourishing, and a new type of individual is arising, one who understands the vital interests of his people and is capable of defending them. A new social and political order has been fully consolidated, ensuring the unswerving advance of these countries along the road to socialism.

Great achievements have been registered by the People's Republic of China, which occupies one of the leading positions in the struggle for peace. In the short period of its existence the People's Republic of China has been able, under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party, to strengthen the system of people's democratic rule and to solve a number of important economic and political problems in the struggle for complete economic independence from the capitalist world, for the industrialization of the country and for cultural progress.

The work of peaceful construction is successfully proceeding in the German Democratic Republic, which likewise has firmly taken its place in the camp of democracy and peace. It is persistently battling for the vital interests of the entire German people, for an independent, united, democratic and peace-loving Germany, and for the conclusion of a just peace treaty ensuring the German people a worthy place among the nations of the world.

Unlike the countries of the imperialist camp, which are engaged, and cannot but be engaged, in bitter rivalry among themselves, the countries of the democratic camp are developing their economies on the basis of close cooperation and mutual assistance.

Thus, morally and politically, as well as economically, the camp of democracy and socialism represents a united and uncrushable force. Its strength is enhanced by the fact that it espouses the righteous cause of defending the liberty and independence of nations. And this means that if the ringleaders of the imperialist camp risk unleashing a war after all, there can be no doubt that it will end in the downfall of imperialism itself.

Comrades, one of the greatest popular movements of modern times is the movement for peace. In spite of all obstacles, in spite of the persecution of peace supporters by the rulers of imperialist states, the peace movement has assumed unparalleled scope, embracing all countries and all sections of the population, irrespective of political, religious or other convictions. The champions of peace all over the world are inspired by the words of Comrade Stalin, the great standard-bearer of peace: "Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and uphold it to the end."

The initiators and leading force of the battle for peace in all countries are the Communist Parties. Thanks to their dauntlessness and self-sacrifice in the fight for the vital interests of the working people and in defense of peace and the sovereignty of nations, the Communist Parties have won the confidence of the broad masses.

COMRADES, by the 34th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, our country has made a new stride toward communism. Our achievements confirm once again that the policy of the Bolshevik Party is the only correct policy and one that ensures the steady growth of the might of our Motherland and the welfare of its working people. In the effort to accomplish the great program of communist construction, the Soviet people have rallied still more closely around their own Communist Party, around the inspirer and organizer of our victories, the great Stalin.

Conscious of their strength and the rightness of the road they are following, the Soviet people are continuing their great constructive labors with unshakable calm and faith in the future. No force on earth can retard the victorious march of the Soviet people toward the final triumph of communism.

Long live the great invincible banner of the October Socialist Revolution!

Long live our mighty Motherland—the unshatterable bulwark of liberty and peace!

Long live the Party of Lenin and Stalin, our glorious Bolshevik Party!

For the triumph of peace and democracy the world over!

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